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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

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Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 794 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

[769] The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The [773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

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/68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

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The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

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The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

/69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament. For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community [726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of the historic facts.

612 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are
794 the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat
794 community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger
554 the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection
778 of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta),
778 which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of
612 years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [24 796] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

241 634 778 Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 602 182 A summary of the above yields the following result:

By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 602 182 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 794 778 602 In addition to this worship community, there are a number of extremely weak and small worship communities in a group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 182 778 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 561 571 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To contradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 643 [794] Worship communities consequently do not always conduct themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.